

A
NARRATIVE
OF SOME

Passages

IN or RELATING
TO THE L 2.
LONG PARLIAMENT.

*Curse not the King, no not in thy
thought, Eccles. 10. 20.*

*Rebellion is as the Sin of Witchcraft,
1 Sam. 15. 23.*

By a Person of Honor.

~~*By Dudley North.*~~

L O N D O N,

Printed for Robert Pawlet, at the
Bible in Chancery-Lane, 1670.

4th Baron North



To the Reader.

BEfore thou makest an entry upon the following discourse, it is fit thou shouldst be acquainted with the occasion of its birth. A near relation of mine was the cause of my setting Pen to paper, upon a conceit that being a Member of the Long Parliament, my Observation might have fixed it self upon some particulars omitted by others, which

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To the Reader.

particulars he was unwilling should be lost. And now since this issue of my Brain is come into the world with many characters of Truth upon its body, some friends looking upon it with too favourable an eye, will not consent that it should be stifled by a confinement to one family or place: But on the other side, lest travelling abroad it may contract some disadvantage by too much expectation, (termed by Sir Philip Sidney, that friendly foe) I my self having assented to a publication, deem it necessary so far to pass my own censure upon it, as that more may not be looked for, than it can yield; and not only so, but

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but otherwise to make some little apology for the Contents of it. I may profess my self to have been somewhat perplexed, in finding a proper name for that which I have written. It containeth matters historical and yet is no history, for it consisteth of particulars without any exact order. It compriseth the business of a limited number of years, and yet I cannot give it the title of *Annals*, because things transacted in several years are set together. It consisteth of abrupt parcels, and yet maketh up but one continued relation. Truth is, it wanteth method, containing nothing that is perfect, and if it were a perfect nothing,

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thing, perhaps it would be much better, for then it would give no offence to any, whereas now my old fellow-Members, and Comerades of that Parliament, will say, I am Injurious to them, in relating only those proceedings which were not justifiable, and omitting the good things done by them, and they will also tax me for partiality, in not speaking at all, of the provocations and wrongs offered and done, by their opposers. To this I answer, that from beginning the war (which with its preparatives gives limits to our business) I know nothing publickly done, that was either good or justifiable, saving only an outward professi-

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profession of personal reformation, which unless it carried with it a real intention, would have been mention'd with as little advantage, as had the outward pretended publick reformation, which deserved rather blame than praise. The intention of many of us was also very good, being desirous of peace and of a good agreement between Prince and people, but how could this appear without doors, till the army had kickt us out of the House? And as for particular miscarriages of the King's party, I was not resident within his Majesties quarters, and therefore my relations must have been subject to much uncertainty. But
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that which must satisfy me is this, that those Members, who were enemies to the war, will find reason in that which I say, and as for those Salamanders, who could live only in the fire, I regard not their censure. Perhaps I may also be condemned by the generality as imprudent, in setting an evil character upon the whole carriage of that Parliament, when I my self could not but be an actor in some part of that evil. Here I am put to a double apology for my self, first, as a Subject, and then as a Writer. As to the first, I cannot excuse my self otherwise, than by the Sincerity of my mind and Intentions. I may freely profess, that I never
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had the least disloyal thought in relation to my Prince, and my endeavours always tended to a reconciliation of the business, with a production of peace, and if I were at any time enforced (for I never did it willingly) to act in the way of opposition contributory to the war, it was with hope, that at last there would be a happy agreement. I must thus far confess my error, that I too much feared the ill consequences of a Parliaments being run down by force, and perhaps so great a distrust in the clemency of his late Majesty cannot be justified; yet I may hope, that such a tenderness upon mistake, may be esteemed venial in comparison of greater offences,

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offences, which are included in our present Sovereigns gracious pardon. And as for the imputation of imprudence in stigmatizing my self by too far publishing the miscarriages of that body, whereof I was a Member, I conceive, that I cannot better shew my self worthy to be included in that his Majesties general pardon, than by declaring a detestation of them, and by setting them out in their right colors, so far am I from condemning my self in that particular. As to the whole Narrative, considering that I have trusted only to my own private memory and Notes, I will not say, but that there may be an omission of some particulars, as important as those inserted;

To the Reader.

*ted, but I am confident, that for the
substantial Truth of that which I have
delivered, there can be no just excep-
tion to it, and so I must referr all to
thy censure.*

Farewel.

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A
NARRATIVE
 Of some
 Passages in or relating to
 the Long Parliament.

Cardinal *de Richelien*, that
 great favourite of *France*
 (perhaps to insinuate into
 his Masters thoughts the high im-
 portance of Naval power) caused a
 Ship of extraordinary bulk to be
 made, which his malevolents affirm-
 ed to be an embleme of himself:
 for as that Ship could not move at
 B Sea,

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Sea, but in a storm, so (said they) the Cardinal could not live in a quiet and undisturbed State. This was said of that great Minister of State, because he held his Prince engaged in a continual foreign war ; and if such a war were imputed to him, as mischievous to that Kingdom, what shall we think of those, who in this our Island so troubled the waters at home (to fish out a greatness for themselves) as to sever the Head from its Body, and by unfinnewing the government to batter down all the Pillars that supported it, and so to bring an absolute Anarchy and confusion upon the whole Nation ? Surely the depth of this offence is not to be fathomed, yet thus much is ordinarily said in their defence, that they were so far from designing Anarchy, as they intended only reforma-

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reformation, and the setting up of a much more accomplished government. It is easie to be believed, that confusion was not their *ultimate* end, and there needeth no other proof of it, than the actings of their Leviathan *Cromwell*, who made his own personal greatness the foundation of something in the way of new Government. And the intent of reformation, or of a new model, can be no justification of any particular Rebellion, since the same ends are pretended to by all persons, that at any time raise a Power in opposition to the present Governors, as these very persons found by experience during their short rule. *Aristotle* and his adherents, are much cried down by our modern natural Philosophers, for making privation a principle; but certainly these men made it the most

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considerable principle in their politics; for they could not effect any thing fully, but demolition and destruction. They never set up any thing in the way of Government that was new, but it was in a short time disliked and overthrown: And indeed it could not be otherwise, since the greedy Monster of their faction could not subsist, but by devouring whatsoever was most precious in the Land; and since the opportunity to do so could not be had, but by frequent changes of Government; so the rapacity of this brood of Harpies caused the destruction of so many fair Buildings, whereof the raising had been so costly, the suppression of Bishops with their Hierarchy, and the sale of their Lands, and (I may even say) felling of the Royal Oak it self, with prostitution of the publick Revenue

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Revenue and Ornaments to sale, and the same cause would infallibly have produced the ruine of both Universities, with demolition of the Colledges, and alienation of their Lands, and many other destructions of that nature, so as to have deprived the Nation of all excellence in the way of beauty and splendor. That this was done, the Power once raised, is not strange, but how so great a part of the people (nay even of that remainder of Parliament) should be drawn to consent to it, carrieth much wonder; and certainly there was much art used, to win their consent to so great a devastation. The Historical part of this business being too heavy a burden for my shoulders; I shall only (for the satisfaction of some friends) set down in writing my observations, of the

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carriage of that business at *Westminster*, where I was then resident as a Member of the House of Commons, wherein perhaps there may be found some particulars, not so obvious to others, and in that respect likely to be omitted.

In matters Political it is seldom found, that events depend upon causes necessarily producing them, and when they do, there must be some great imperfection in the original constitution of a State, as writers in Politicks affirm, of Civil War arising in an Oligarchy, by reason of many dependences upon great persons possess of the Sovereign power, whose private and differing interests distract the forces of such Commonwealths; but this cannot be our case, who live in an extraordinary well-tempered Monarchy, where the perfect constitution

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tion is sufficiently proved by an efflux of very much time, without the least appearance of any visible defect. We must therefore search out other causes. It cannot be doubted, that there is a Divine Providence, which ordereth and governeth all things; but as this is above us, and altogether out of our sight, so we must rather submit chearfully, than make any inquiry about it. As for second causes in disturbance of States, none can justify an armed opposition by Subjects against their Sovereign; and unless there be some plausible title to the Supreme power, there is seldom any that become considerable, but discontents upon conceit of misgovernment; and in this case the justness of discontent is not so dangerous, as the generality of it, and in that respect designs ground-

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ed upon right reason, and with certainty of publick advantage, if effected, are yet well laid aside, when liable to a general misconstruction, in the way either of danger or oppression. Never Parliament was assembled, when the people were in a higher discontent, than at this time: such a general diffidence there was, as they thought themselves sure of nothing. The encrease of Ceremonies had made them fear the approach of a Religion hateful to them. The late business of Ship-money, together with some other impositions without consent of Parliament, caused them to apprehend the loss of property in their estates, and they had little hope of redress by Parliament, because his then Majesty had been so unhappy, as to be put upon a sudden dissolution of all Parliaments

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liaments formerly by him called. There wanted not persons ill-disposed, and seditious, to trumpet these things in the ears of the generality, whereby they incensed them so far, as thereby they found means to raise a power against their Sovereign, which how it was done, and by what degrees, and how improved is the chief intent of our business to set forth.

At the time of assembling this unhappy Parliament there were two armies on foot in *England*, whereof one was that of the *Scots*, and another consisting of English-men to oppose them, if occasion were ; and the King to remove all jealousy of a wilful continuance of the war, by engaging them to a fresh hostility, had made the Earl of *Holland* (a person then standing gracious with the Parliament and People) General

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ral of the English army. The persons who knew themselves faulty in holding intelligence with the *Scots*, were then so apprehensive of a complete agreement between his Majesty and Them, and of their being won to a compliance with him in all things, as the Earl of *Holland* in a private Letter to Mr. *Pym*, writ somewhat to this effect; That the sky was horridly black in those Northern parts, and that all things there seemed, as tending to an universal judgment. The Earl being then General, could not intend this other than a private advertisement, but Mr. *Pym* finding the publication of it a fit means to encrease the general apprehensions, presently imparted that Letter to the House of Commons, and from thence the substance of it was divulged over all the City of *London*. This served to
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keep the people in a heat and jealousy concerning the Kings intentions, but that fear proved vain, for the pacification was effected wholly by interposition of the English-Commissioners, who were persons approved of by the Parliament as to that employment. But this business of satisfying the *scots*, and of disbanding of the Armies, requiring vast sums of money, there were were great Taxes laid upon the people by Act of Parliament, which money was not likely to be levied in much time, and therefore there needed a present supply by the City of *London*, who (as was pretended) would not part with their money, lest a dissolution of the Parliament should come before payment; thereupon the King was pressed to pass the Act of Continuance, whereby the Parliament could

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could not be dissolved, but by their own consent. This Act had the Royal assent, and gave to the Crown the greatest blow that it had yet received ; for so the King established against himself a Power, which he could not extinguish. This pacification being free from all secret agreements with the *Scots*, gave a great strength and confidence to our *Ciniflones*, or kindlers of Sedition : for though the Presbyterian discipline, was now again confirmed, as to *Scotland*, yet it was impossible, that the *Scots* could think themselves secure to hold it, as long as Episcopacy stood firm in *England*, in which respect they could not but be willing to assist those, whose design it was to abolish it. Before this time, it was thought fit to deprive the King of two prime Counsellors, the Archbishop

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bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, (whose names were delivered in by the Scottish-Commissioners, as incendiaries between the two Nations) which was done in the way of an impeachment by the House of Commons at the Lords Bar for High Treason. Upon this Impeachment it was found requisite to commit them presently to the Tower, so as the King was immediately deprived of their advice in Council ; and the Earl of *Strafford* was speedily brought to Trial in *Westminster-Hall* with much solemnity, which had continuance for many days, and at last was broken up with heat and violence by the House of Commons, such as ill became the gravity of that Assembly ; and they did it, conceiving that the Lords carried themselves partially in relation to the person impeached ;

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ed; but his condemnation was finished afterwards by the Legislative power in a Bill of Attainder, which could not pass the Lords, till many of them were so terrified by tumults, as they found it for their safety to be absent at the last Reading. And this business of the Bill was carried on with such violence, as there was a kind of proscription of such persons, as in the House of Commons had Voted against the Bill; for their names were posted up in *London* by the care of some malicious body. The Archbishop was reserved to a Trial, less legal as to the form, but no less fatal to his ruine; being some few years after condemned by a Bill passed in both Houses, but wanting the Royal assent. At or about the time of *straffords* Trial, there was a general licentiousness used. The Parliament

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liament-houses were daily haunted with a rabble of tumultuating people, crying out for that which they called justice. There was also a Liberty assumed, and connived at, to Print and publish what every man thought fit, which for the most part was in defamation of the Governors Ecclesiastical and Temporal. Within the City of *London* the Pulpits were almost wholly possessed by Presbyterian-Ministers, whose eloquence was altogether employed the same way. In the Country (or at least in divers parts) there was such encouragement given under-hand, as the common people fell upon Popish Recusants, and plundered their houses with all severity: And the House of Commons being made acquainted with the inconvenience and terror of these Tumults, as well by their own mem-

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members, as by a Message from the house of Lords, would not be drawn to discountenance, much to declare against them. It was not long after the Pacification, that the *Scots* much urged the King to go into *Scotland* to be crowned, whereunto his Majesty assented at the last, which gave great jealousy again at *Westminster*, in so much as the Parliament made some addresses to the King, desiring that he would not depart out of the Kingdom at that time, but those addresses became altogether fruitless, the King declaring his absolute and peremptory engagement to go. And the apprehensions of this journey were so powerful, as a very active Member of the house of Commons, standing at the door of the Lords House, upon occasion of a Message, having fetch'd a great sigh, made a profession,

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session, he thought we were all undone; but the Presbyterian *Scots* continued true to their own interest, with a respect also to their profit, and expecting to be called again into *England*, as it came to pass afterwards. The *Scottish* Coronation being past, the King returned to *London*, and then the exasperations grew higher than ever. It seems, his Majesty was willing to impute the disorders in Parliament to some particular persons Members of both Houses, whom he had found to have held intelligence with his enemies, and therefore he directed his Attorney General, to accuse the five members (whose names are well known) in Parliament of high Treason, which was so ill resented in both Houses, as the Impeachment was refused, whereupon his Majesty fell upon that unhappy

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happy resolution, of coming personally into the House of Commons, which gave so great offence, as both Houses, pretending they could not sit securely at *Westminster* without a guard, adjourned themselves for some days, and appointed to meet during the vacancy in *London* as grand Committies, to consider what was to be done upon the pretended breach of Priviledge. This gave a great advantage against the King, for by this means, they had opportunity to fix their correspondence with the Citizens, and to engage them in their defence. Between this time and the Kings return out of *Scotland*, the Court had been annoyed with a confluence of unruly people; so as it was thought fit to have a *Corps de guard* (or a Court of guard as they call it) kept in the passage before *Whitehal*
to

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to keep the rabble at a distance. But during this Adjournment the Citizens of *London* became so engaged, as upon the day of the Houses meeting again at *Westminster*; they sent a little army with some field pieces for their security: these passed by land and by water on each side of *Whitehal*, and the noise of their coming was so loud, as it was concluded fit for the guard of *Middlesex* trayned bands to withdraw, and so their passage became free. This was interpreted at Court, as the beginning of a war, and thereupon his Majesty thought good to retire to *Hampton-Court*. After this, there were many addrestes to the King by the Parliament, but not any, that could be in the least measure pleasing to him. It happened that Mr. *Pim* had newly and publickly (at a conference
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between the House, as I take it) used some words of disrespect to the King, wherewith his Majesty exprest himself to be offended, and thereupon the House of Commons, having notice of the Kings resentment, took a resolution to send his Majesty a paper, in full justification of that which Mr. *Pim* had said, I my self was present at this resolution, and appearing dissatisfied with it, immediately went out of doors, which being observed by a back friend of mine, he named me one of the four to carry it. This unwelcome news was brought to me to my own house by one of our Serjeants, with a copy of the order, which must not be disobeyed, and so we went and delivered the paper to his Majesty at *Hampton-Court*, which being read, he began to discourse upon it, as if he

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expected reason from us, and seem'd to address his Speech more particularly to me (perhaps having heard of my dislike) but Sir *John Culpepper* then Chancellor of the Exchequer and chief of the four, told his Majesty, we had not power to speak one word, whereupon we were dismissed, and returned to *London*. After this the King left *Hampton-Court* and went to *Theobalds*, whither the Parliament sent a Committie of Lords and Commons, but with a meslage either so unreasonable, or unseasonable, as the King thought fit to dismiss them with an absolute negative, and there passed something then, which perhaps may be fit to be inserted herein, as containing that which is something extraordinary. I received the relation from a noble person, who was one

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of the Commoners then sent, and this it is. After having received his Majesties answer, the Com-mitty being still at *Theobalds*, retired it self to take into consideration the terms of it, that there might be no difference in reporting to the severall Houses of Parliament. As soon as the Com-mitty was set, the Earl of *Warwick* was called out, to speak with his brother the Earl of *Newport*. He went out, and speedily returned with this account of the business; that the Earl of *Newport* had acquainted him, that the King was even then so pressed to give a more satisfactory answer, as he was confident they should have such an answer, if they would but defer their departure for a small season: To this the whole company seemed to assent with much chearfulness,

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fulness, when suddenly young Sir *Henry Vain* declared himself to mervail at it, for said he, is there any person here, who can undertake to know the Parliaments mind, that is, whether this which we have, or that which is called a more satisfactory answer, will be more pleasing to the Houses? For my part I cannot, and if there be any that can, let him speak; to this no man made any answer, and so having agreed upon the report to be made, they departed. I have related this, to shew how easily one subtle ill-disposed person may overthrow a general good intention. Now were the well affected party (as it was then termed) stirred up in all parts, to give encouragement to the House of Commons in the way of pretended Reformation, by petitions, whereof

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some were delivered dayly at the bar, and the deliverers had thanks given by the Speaker, which was a thing altogether new. And as a general return to these, and to keep the people in perfect heat, it was resolved, that a general and publick declaration of the State of the kingdom should be made to the Nation. In time of former Princes the House of Commons had some times (but very rarely) made remonstrances of that nature to the King, which were never pleasing to him, yet not justly to be excepted against, because it is exprest in the writs of Summons, that they are to advise his Majesty, but for any advising (or treating with) the people, it was always held illegal, and of mischievous consequence. Upon these grounds the declaration, being brought into
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the House, caused a very long debate, but was at last passed, with the dissent of very many of the most considerable Members. Our Nation being in such disorder, the rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, and the Lords of the Council being yet in *London*, imparted their new received intelligence to the House of Commons, who seemed chearfully to embrace the business of reducing that Kingdom to obedience, and thereupon endeavoured the raising of a stock of money by adventure, upon security of the living Bears-skin, which was the Estates of such persons as were in Rebellion. Upon this the King made offer of going in person to suppress the rebellion, if he might be supplied with money, and other necessaries for the work ; which offer was so far from being hearkned unto
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at *Westminster*, as it created new jealousy. But the Parliament made good use of the *Irish* business; for by that means they listed Officers, and made full enquiry concerning their inclinations, which succeeded happily with them afterwards. Every day produced new differences between the King and Parliament; for that unsatiable Monster of publick security caused the making of a proposition to his Majesty, which was, that the Parliament might govern the Militia, (or Trained-bands) for some time at least, which was rejected by the King, as a power not to be parted withal, no not for an hour; whereupon the Parliament made new Lieutenants for each County, who assumed the exercise of that power by Parliamentary authority in many parts of the Kingdom. And upon the
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the same ground of publick security, Sir *John Hotham* seised upon the Town of *Kingston upon Hull*, with the Kings Magazin there, which his Majesty cried out upon, not only as rebellious, but as a robbing him of his Arms and Ammunition; being personal Goods bought with his money; and this before any the least act of hostility shewed on his part. The King was then retired to the City of *Tork*, as a place of more safety, than nearer to *London*: And there first of all the Warrants of Parliament being sent by expresse Messengers for Delinquents (by them so stiled) were flatly disobeyed, which was no unwelcome news to the great managers of affairs at *Westminster*; for they pretended such obstruction of Justice, to be a justifiable & sufficient ground for the raising of forces. When the
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opposition was grown to this height, his Majesty judged it fit, that such Members of both Houses as had resolved to engage against the Parliament should withdraw themselves ; and one of the last that continued sitting in the House of Commons was Mr. *Sidney Godolphin*, who for a farewell declared, That by a War the Parliament would expose it self to unknown dangers : for (said he) when the Cards are once shuffled, no man knows what the Game will be, which was afterwards found by the Parliament too true, when their own Army became their Masters : But in the mean time, this Secession of Members did very much facilitate the entry into, and continuance of the War ; all dispute being taken away within the Houses, and the House of Commons would not lose this convenience, and therefore they

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they soon excluded the withdrawn Members by special Votes. This abscission or cutting off of Members had been formerly used in this and other Parliaments, but very rarely, and for offences extraordinary, and such an offence was this obedience to his Majesty then adjudged to be, so unfitting a time for Judgment is the heat of a Civil War in matters relating to that War. This War first began in Paper, by Manifestoes and Declarations on both parts, which brings to remembrance a pleasant passage in the House of Commons upon this account. One of the Members brought with him into the House a Declaration of his Majesties, which he had newly bought, and complained much of those, who were so insolent, as freely to sell such papers of the Kings : At this a young Gentleman
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(of those who were accounted Fanaticks in those days ; but one who never spake publickly in the House) grew into a seeming impatience, and said with much earnestness, Why not his papers as well as every mans else? Which though loudly, yet being spoken, without standing up, was answered only with looks and smiles. This passage is scarcely worthy of a place in any serious discourse, yet it seemeth naturally to expresse the small ingenuity of those times, which allowed not to a Sovereign Prince in his own Dominions that freedom, which every petty fellow assumed without exception. At this time both parties were employed in raising of forces: The Earl of *Essex* being made Captain-General for the King and Parliament, (as the stile of the War was then) with
full

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full power to nominate Officers; and I can affirm, that the Army was raised with great difficulty; there being immediately upon grant of that Commission, the greatest solitude at *Westminster* that I had seen, whereof I my self taking notice before a Member, who was designed to a principal command in the Army, as a thing of small encouragement, he made this answer, That he thought the people of *England* were mad, being so blind to the discerning of their own interest; but the Parliaments business was more and more facilitated every day, there being a Committy erected of Lords and Commons, called the Committy of Safety, in the nature of a Privy Council; and Money or Plate coming in freely (upon the propositions for contribution) in *London* beyond any mans
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expectation. But that which most advanced the Levies, was a Liberty declared for Apprentices to forsake their Masters service at this time, without loss of freedom: and the nomination of Collonels, Members of both Houses, being persons eminent for popularity, so as the Army consisted very much of boys at the first, but there being great scarcity of experienced Commanders, the General thought it necessary to accept the service of divers *Scottish-men*, whom the assurance of good pay had invited to offer themselves, being not only able persons for Command, but also better hardened in the way of Military opposition to the Royal power, than our *English*. Now there passed every day Acts of hostility, for the King appearing in person before *Hull*, and entrance being denied, raised a battery against

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against the Town, and laid a kind of siege to it. On the other side the Parliaments forces seized every day, upon such places, as they found necessary in the way of advantage for War; so as *Mars* began to exercise his power in several parts of the Kingdom, even to blood, by wrestlings between the respective Partisans, when they met, as also by the siege of *Warwick-Castle* by the Earl of *Northampton*, who soon after lost his life in the Kings service; and the Parliament it self then seemed to have assumed a new nature, according to the busineses there agitated, which were only relating to the War. After several skirmishes between parties, the Armies came to face one another at *Edgehill*, in the year 1642, whereupon ensued a battel, and notice being given at

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Westminster, we were in continual expectation of the issue; and the House being set in an afternoon, there came a Messenger, who brought word, that the Parliaments Army was so worsted, as he his self saw the Earl of *Effex*'s Cannon seized upon by the Kings forces. This gave so great a terror, as the Speaker *Lentall* addressed himself to some of us, and used these terms. Gentlemen, you shall do well to send to his Majesty betimes to ask conditions, lest by delaying you come too late to effect your security: Such a terror did the present apprehension strike into him, and many others; but it was not long before an express Messenger came from the General himself, signifying that he was Master of the field, and had been once possessor of the Royal Standard. This gave fresh courage

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courage, yet the intelligence brought by the first person was true; for the Parliaments left wing had been routed, and their Cannon possessed, but for want of discipline the prevailers applied themselves to plunder the baggage, and so the other part of his Majesties Army was born down, and the Earl of *Essex* remained possessed of the field, (or *Champ de bataigle*, as the *French* call it) but with his Forces so broken, as the Kings Army, having done their business in forcing a passage, pursued their design, and marched forwards, which *Essex* in his Letters termed a flight, and said, that for want of horse, he could not prosecute his victory, without a fresh supply from *London*. And thus the victory is pretended to on both sides, and not without

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a fair colour. Not long after this, the King having refreshed his army at *Oxford*, marched with it towards *London*, yet could not do this with such expedition, but that General *Essex* was gotten thither before him, and the Citizens of *London* were so fearful of being plundered, as they came out unanimously for defence, and so his Majesty thought good to retreat to *Oxford*, which gave a period to action for that year. Somewhat before the late encounter near *Brainford*, the house of Commons ordered me to go into the Countrey for which I served, where I found all full of terror, the common people generally apprehending, that the Cavaliers (as the Royallists were then called) were coming to plunder them. This fear was artificially put into them, as I could easily per-

the Long Parliament. 37

perceive: for the Countrey was full of strange fictions of their inhumane carriage in other countreys, and being at my usual Mansion, we had scarcely any rest (no not in the night) for Messengers giving the allarm, and the manner was to bring a paper of intelligence without any subscription, and this must be taken for truth, without any farther proof. These allarms generated strange, wild, and indigested propositions, such as were not to be hearkned unto by any person of Judgment and experience, yet they were some way tending to the great design of raising the terror to a height, and putting arms into the hands of Schismatical people under the name of Voluntiers, and by those means to form a new power to be disposed of upon occasion in any part of the Kingdome,

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38 *Passages relating to*

without the limits of their own Counties, as it came to pass afterwards, when Majors General were established. But since the Kings forces did not really make any approach towards us, and since I had not accepted of any Command to oblige my stay in the Countrey, I made my return to *London*, and applyed my self to my constant course of attending in Parliament, where I found the state of business somewhat altered: for General *Essex* began now to appear to the private *Caballists* somewhat wresty, so as they found it necessary to raise new forces to be commanded less immediately by him. Upon this there was a kind of army put under command of Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Arthur Hasellrigg*, whose actions were afterwards as much cryed up,
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the Long Parliament. 39

as the Generals were cryed down. And then there were also Ordinances of Parliament (which kind of law grew now in fashion) framed, and past for constituting associations, whereof the *Eastern* was chief, and much promoted by *Cromwel*, who founded his greatness there, though for the present he was commanded by the Lord *Grey of Warke*, chosen Major General of that association, and placed in that Command, as a person less active, and more to be wrought upon, than he afterward proved to be, which made *Essex* who had yet power sufficient to crush him; cause him (after about a years service in that Command) to be summon'd to his attendance in the Lords house, with a substitution of the Earl of *Manchester* in his place of Major General, being one of his own near relations. The

40 *Passages relating to*

House of Commons was employed in providing money, without which they could have no good effect of their armies. Several ways were found, but no one (nor all of them together) answerable to their occasions. One was by Sequestration of Delinquents estates, not excepting the King's own revenue, which last yielded the best supply, being manag'd by a Committy of Parliament, whereas they were enforced to use ravenous people in the Sequestration of private estates, making a very slender account to the publick, and converting most of the profits to their own use, whereof the Parliament was not in condition to take much notice at that time. Another way of raising money there was, by requiring a twentieth part of goods and a fifth part of every man's revenue. This began

the Long Parliament. 41

began upon persons disaffected to the Parliament, but came at last to be a calling dance, being made general, and herein both parties did good service, by giving complete information concerning one anothers estates. But the last and surest, was a monthly tax for the army, which was the first of that kind, and likeliest to continue in being. And now the case is wholly altered, for every demand must be answered, there being armies on foot, very well disposed to constrain payment in case of refusal. About this time, those persons who had been nominated Committies in each County for money matters, held meetings (in imitation of the Covenanters tables in *Scotland*) and took upon them the decision of busineses relating to the County in general, but especially as to the war,

42 *Passages relating to*

war, which comprized the suppression of the Royallists, and by this means they exercised an unlimited power, being assured of Indemnity at *Westminster* for all things done in the way of advantage to their military affairs. While the asperities of war lay thus frozen up in winter quarters, it pleased his Majesty to send the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *John Culpepper* with a proposition for a treaty of peace, and a considerable member of our House made this relation to me, of Mr. *Pims* opinion concerning it. This Gentleman said, he met Mr. *Pim* going into the Com-mitty of Safety, and desiring a word with him asked, "if he knew the substance of *Southampton's* message, and what he thought of it? Mr. *Pim's* answer was, that he knew the particulars, and praised God

the Long Parliament. 43

God in his heart, hoping that the issue of it would be happy for the Kingdome. But it seems, that being entred into the Committy his mind soon changed, for the General (with other Lords there) were absolutely for the refusal of it, which was the event of it also in Parliament, and not without some harshness in the manner, for *Southampton* and *Culpepper* would have delivered their message in the respective Houses within the Bar, as Members, which was refused to them, and so their message being made known, and unanimously concluded unseasonable, by reason of the Generals standing yet (together with divers other eminent persons) declared Traytor, they both returned to *Oxford*. This may appear strange, since the General was conceived to wish and labour for peace,

44 *Passages relating to*

peace, which may the better be believed, because after this time, he sent a letter to the Parliament, to express his sense of the Nations miserable condition under a war, and to desire that there might be propositions of peace sent to his Majesty (a fault never to be forgiven by the private *Caballists*) which desire of restoring peace continued with him even to his end, as was hinted in his funeral Sermon, wherein he was compared to *Abner*, who perished being in such a design, but it is usual for such persons to dislike all pacification, saving what is procured by themselves, wherein their own interests are fully provided for, and it is very likely, that *Essex* would have had the business to pass chiefly through his own hands, whereby we may see, how far a poor Nation may suffer by the
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the Long Parliament. 45

on of some principal persons. But howsoever it was with others, it is not to be doubted, but some of the close *Cabal*, rather than to yield to any pacification, were disposed to make use of the pious intimation, delivered by a Minister in a Fast Sermon preached before the House of Commons, which was this. That *if they could not effect the desired reformation, yet it would be in their power, to break the pillars, and as Sampson did, to pull down the house over the heads of their enemies.* Yet for publick satisfaction (the people being wearied with a war) it was always in agitation, to bring the business to a treaty, though not without much jealousie on the Parliaments side, which might be much encreased, by a letter from a Lord at *Oxford* to a Commander in that army, which became publick being
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46 *Passages relating to*

intercepted, and contained these words. Do but cudgel them into a Treaty, and we shall do well enough with them. Before drawing the armies out in the year 1643. there had been a hopeful treaty of peace, both parties having tendered propositions, and Commissioners being sent to *Oxford* to treat, but this was soon rendered fruitless by the Parliament, who too far straightened the time of treaty, and bound up their Commissioners by instructions, obliging them in the first place, to treat upon and conclude the proposition for disbanding of the armies, which could not be consented to by his Majesty, without assurance first had, that the other most important articles would be agreed upon. And so at this time the poor people were defeated of their hopes, it being one of our *Cabals* greatest

the Long Parliament. 47

greatest arts, to give way to a treaty of peace for publick satisfaction, and then to bring it to a rupture in some plausible way, as here it was upon the article of disbanding, which was a thing so much desired by the people. This year 1643. businesses were transacted at *Westminster* with greater height than ever; for the Queen being returned to the King's quarters with some assistance, the House of Commons assumed the boldness to impeach her of high treason at the Lord's bar, and about the same time, both Houses voted a new great Seal to be made, which is the instrument of Royal power far above all others, and the doing of these two things, could not but much exasperate his Majesty, yet their military affairs were never less successful, for the *West of England* was wholly lost by defeat

48 *Passages relating to*

defeat of the Earl of *Stamford's* army, and *Bristow* forced by Prince *Rupert*. In the *Northern* parts the Earl of *Newcastle* was prevalent almost wholly : And certainly had the King (instead of besieging *Glocester*) marched to *London*, and the Earl of *Newcastle* (instead of besieging *Hull*) forced his way into the *Eastern* association, the war had come to a period, but Divine Providence had designed a more gentle end, and disposed the minds of the *Northern* and *Western* armies, so as they would not forsake their own Countries till they saw them cleared from all opposition. The Parliaments business being in this evil condition, it was easily judged fit to call in the *Scots*, which matter being moved in the House of Commons, and it being objected, that it would be fruitless to call them, without proposing

the Long Parliament. 49

posing to them at the same time something of great advantage by it, there stood up presently that great Patriot *Henry Martin*, and desired with much confidence, that an offer might be made them, of the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, and in case they were not therewith contented, to add two such other Counties in the *North*, as should be most convenient for them. So little care had he in that conjuncture, of the honour, and advantage of the *English Nation*. This was justly thought extravagant, yet that business of calling in the *Scotts* being communicated to the Lords, there was a Committee of Lords and Commons nominated to go into *Scotland*, and matters were so transacted with the *Scotts*, as they entred into *England* with an army the *February* following.

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50 *Passages relating to*

ing. I should have related how in the former year, after the King's retiring from Parliament, there was set up at *Westminster* an assembly of Divines, being an Ecclesiastical body of strange constitution, and composed of persons nominated by the Knights and Burgeses of each County, to which were added a small number, named by the Lords, and some few Commissioners deputed by the Kirk of *Scotland*. This assembly being so extraordinary in the constitution, was certainly designed to produce great effects, but the success was not answerable, for they could never perfect their model of Church Government, not well agreeing among themselves, by reason of the Independent members, who approved of no Church discipline, other than Parochial, and even that part of the model, which was concluded

the Long Parliament. 51

cluded upon with approbation of Parliament could never be put in execution, the Presbyterian discipline being so strict, as made it unpleasing to most of the people ; and especially to those of the Gentry, who found themselves likely to be over-powered by the Clergy, even in the places of their habitation : But the Army, after it became new modelled, was wholly averse to it. I conceive, the intentions of calling an Assembly to have been these two : First to have a Synod of Divines concurring in the subversion of the Bishops, and their Hierarchy ; and in this the Parliament had their end fully, for the matter very well pleased all such persons as were earnestly of their party : And secondly, to agree upon some uniformity in Divine Service, which was the ground of their Di-

52 *Passages relating to*

rectory; but all Uniformity (or colour of it) was distasteful to the Independents, which became the growing opinion, and at last so over-spread the Army, as the sight of a black-coat grew hateful to them; and so the Directory fell to ground of it self. These Assembly-men might well be discouraged, since hopes were given at first, that the Lands of Bishops and of Collegiate-Churches should be settled in some way, for the raising of all Parochial Churches a competency of means for the Ministers, but the necessities belonging to War exposed these to sale, and frustrated that hope. I should have related how the House of Commons finding the Pulpits filled with persons disaffected to them, made a breach upon the Lords in point of Judicature, and erected a Committy called of plun-

the Long Parliament. 53

plundered Ministers, and by this Committy they ejected the old Ministers, and placed new at pleasure, but because the ejected had been possessors of a Freehold, the Committy ordered to his Wife and Children a fifth part of the profits, if cause were not shewed to the contrary, which must be this, That the person displaced was otherwise possessor of temporal means sufficient; and to my observation, there was scarcely any of the new-placed, who did not dispute that provision at the Committy. But it seems that this Committy could not dispatch that business fast enough; for the Earl of *Manchester* was afterwards invested with a power by both Houses, to do the same thing within his association, as also to reform the University of *Cambridge*, where he had the like arbitrary power of ejection.

54 *Passages relating to*

ction. But the Parliament had a way of cementing their fluctuating faction by religious bands of union, which certainly they found very effectual, though upon differing grounds, or else they would never have had three of them in three or four years time, which I think is not to be paralell'd in any other revolt. The first of these was a protestation in the year 1641, which being before the War began, took into it the defence of his Majesties Royal person, Estate and Dignity. The second was termed a Vow and Covenant, set on foot in the year 1642, and this containeth no mention of the King, but in the way of forcible opposition to him by prosecuting the War. And the third was, the *Scottish*-Covenant, which again taketh in the defence of his Majesties Royal person, but in so perplexed

perplexed and complicated a way, as it signified little. And in this was also contained, a total abrogation of the Government Ecclesiastical by Archbishops, Bishops, &c. with the whole Hierarchy ; so as this Covenant may be said, to have spoken perfect *Scottish*. The taking of the first and last of these in their proper time, was pressed upon the people in general with all terror ; and the Vow and Covenant (which related much to a particular conspiracy) only upon the Members of both Houses ; and certainly it was a very useful policy, to engage the most considerable persons in these oaths, and in other things rendring them odious to their Prince, and exposing them to confiscation of their Estates upon conquest, which could not but make them stick the more closely to com-

56 *Passages relating to*

mon defence. All the time of this Parliament it was the design of our *Caballists*, to abate the power of the Lords House, and in pursuance of that design, at the very beginning in *Straffords* business, they prevailed to have the Recusant Lords deprived of Voting there; and afterwards they had not patience to stay till the Bishops were excluded by the Ordinance, but took advantage of a protestation made by such Bishops, as then sate in the House of Lords, being about half their number, and to my best remembrance, thus it was. Those Bishops having taken a resolution, not to continue sitting long after his Majesties forsaking the Southern parts, yet finding that there was an Ordinance coming for abolition of their Order, which must pass the Lords House, they used their endeavours to enervate

the Long Parliament. 57

vate that, which might be done in their absence ; and upon that ground they entred a Protestation, subscribed with their names, against all such determinations to their prejudice. This being become matter of record, the House of Commons took notice of it, and came up presently with an impeachment of those Bishops by name, as guilty of a *Præmunire*, in assuming to themselves a power, to invalidate that which is otherwise the Law of the Land, *viz.* the Jurisdiction of Parliament ; and upon this ground (how justly I know not, for the matter was never brought to Judgment) those Bishops unhappily formed to themselves a deprivation, instead of a withdrawing. By this means, and by the absence of those Lords, who withdrew themselves to serve his Majesty, the
House

58 *Passages relating to*

House of Peers was grown so empty, as their Authority became little considerable, which was not much regarded by our Leaders in the House of Commons, who (in likelihood) had at that time a resolution to dissolve that House, as it came to pass afterwards. As great assertors of privilege of Parliament, as that House of Commons pretended to be, yet they cared not how far they encroached upon the Lords, nor how they violated their privileges, as may appear by a message delivered at their Bar near the beginning of the Parliament, which was to this effect; That the Commons found in that House, so great an obstruction of matters tending to the good of the Common-wealth, as they desired their Lordships to make known the names of such Lords, as were the causes of it, that they might be dealt

the Long Parliament. 59

dealt with as enemies to the State : So as in those days, the House of Commons might properly use the *French* proverbial saying: *Je n'ayme pas le bruit, si je ve le fais*, I love no noise, but what I make my self. But their own House began to be almost as much cried out upon for paucity of Members ; and for this they had provided a remedy sufficient by the new great Seal ; and there was little danger of bringing in evil Members, for no writ of election could be issued, but by Warrant from the Speaker, and consent of the House, who would not grant it for places, where the people were known to be disaffected to the Parliament. By this means the House became pretty well filled, and many of the new Members were Officers of the Army, who had been so used to command, as at the last they

60 *Passages relating to*

they found a way to command, even the House it self. Besides this, the new Great Seal enabled the Parliament to constitute Judges, and to set up again the Courts at Common Law, as also to make what Justices of the Peace they thought fit, whereof there was very great want in the Parliament Quarters till then ; so as now there were complete judicial proceedings, both Criminal and Civil, which gave great satisfaction to the people, and would have deserved high applause, but that all men knew this convenience to be raised upon a most unjust, and insolent foundation. Before this recruiting of the House of Commons (as it was then called) the Military affairs of Parliament were much advanced ; for by the help and countenance of the *Scottish* Army, his Majesties

the Long Parliament. 61

Majesties strength in the North was so broken, as the Parliament had first besieged *Newark*, and then the City of *York*, but both these Towns were very bravely relieved by Prince *Rupert*; and could that Prince have been contented, with the honour of having effected his business in the dissolution of those sieges, it had been happy, but he as a Souldier, knew what a fear usually is attendant upon Armies in a retreat, having been forced to forsake a siege; and thereupon he gave the Parliament Forces Battel at *Marston-Moor*, and was defeated wholly, yet with such a confusion on both parts, as six Generals present in that fight, were said to take wing at the same time, conceiving their party to be utterly overthrown, whereof General *Lesly* of the *Scottish* was one. This set the Parlia-

62 *Passages relating to*

Parliaments reputation very high in point of strength, and gave opportunity to our *Caballists*, of abating (or rather dissolving) *Essex* his power, who, as they conceived (and perhaps grounding their conceit upon his Letter for propositions to his Majesty, in which Letter he also exprest much care that the Royal person might be preserved in safety) had no mind to an utter overthrow of the Regal Authority: So as when the Armies were withdrawn into their Winter-quarters, our grand Politicians set themselves upon the effecting of this great work, which must have influence, as well upon *Essex* his chief adherents, as upon himself. The manner of this critical business was thus. It was affirmed in the House of Commons as impossible, that the War could be brought to an end,
by

the Long Parliament. 63

by an Army that had totally lost its discipline ; whereupon it was moved, and assented to, that a Com-mitty should be nominated, for examination of corruptions and abuses in the Army. This Comitty sat many days, and was very full of employment, till at last a Report was called for. Then arose up Mr. Tate the Chair-man, with a great bundle of papers in his hand, being a very great Presbyterian, and little suspecting, that his business would become the ruine of his party, as it did in conclusion. He appeared unwilling to make the Report, but being pressed to do it, he desired, that the House would first give him leave to speak a few words ; And then he uttered his parable, concerning a man much troubled with Botches and Boiles, in several parts of his body, who
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64 *Passages relating to*

had recourse to a Physician for cure; his Doctor told him, that he could give him plaisters to cure any part of his body so disaffected, but that whatsoever was healed in one member would break out again in another, for the whole habit of his body was corrupted, and that if he would have perfect health, he must procure for himself a better habit of body, by much purgation with a new diet, and so the Ulcers would be healed of themselves. This, saith Mr. *Tate*, is so applicable to the business in hand, as I hope the House will find no need of a Report, and yet upon command I am ready to make it. Hereupon other Members, who had prepared themselves, spake against the Report, and said, that abroad out of doors, all our ill successes were imputed to the absence of Members
from

the Long Parliament. 65

from Parliament ; and then a motion was made, that there might be a self-denying Ordinance, by which all the Members of either House might be deprived of other employments, that diverted them from their service in Parliament. This was very hard of digestion to many Members, who had profitable Offices, yet for publick satisfaction, and for better reforming of the Army, it was consented to, that there should be such an Ordinance, which was afterwards brought in, and passed both Houses. By this means *Effex*, *Denbigh*, *Manchester*, *Grey of Groby*, *Sir William Waller*, *Hajelrig*, *Brereton*, *Cromwell*, and divers others were deprived of Command, though the last was never intended to suffer by this Ordinance, as it appeared afterwards. But notwithstanding all this, *Effex* had

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66 Passages relating to

not surrendred his Commission, and therefore something must be done to shew him a perfect necessity. So the House of Commons proceeded in nomination of Collonels for their new Army, whereof Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was one, and at last he was Voted to be General of it. He was a person eminent for valour, (*vaillant comme son espée*, fearless as his sword) but of a temper more flexible than *Essex*; and very many others, which pleased *Cromwell*, who meant to be the chief Steersman. Not long after this, *Essex* finding himself *imperatorem sine exercitu*, a General without Command surrendred his Commission, with many expressions of good affection to the Parliament; and wholly bent himself to a retirement, being the first person, and last of the Nobility employed by the Parliament

the Long Parliament. 67

liament in Military affairs, which soon brought him to the period of his life; and he may be an example to all future Ages, to deter all persons of like dignity; from being instrumental in setting up a Democratical power, whose interest it is, to keep down all persons of his condition. Yet they did him all possible honour, in his Funerals at the publick charge, so acceptable is an opportune death. In pursuance of the great design, all the old Commanders were wormed out by little and little, and none admitted to Commands, but those persons who were known, not only to be of an Antimonarchical spirit, but purely disposed to the Armies interests, which the Army found very useful afterwards, when it began to contend with the House of Commons for the Sovereign power.

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By this it may appear, how supinely negligent the Parliament was, in forbearing to mould the army, with surer dependence upon it self, which might have been effected in the nomination of Colonels and chief Officers at first, if care had been taken for choice of many persons, who were resolved to stand & fall with their interest, such as were Colonel *Harley* and Sir *Robert Pye*, who forsook the army, when it opposed it self to the Parliament, and for want of associates could effect nothing, but their own prejudice. As soon as this new army began to move, it was thought necessary by the House of Commons to send *Cromwel* to them, who was there not only received, but intrusted with command of all the cavalry by the title of Lieutenant General, there being then no General

the Long Parliament. 69

neral of the horse. This army had but ill success at first, having laid siege to *Oxford*, and failed, when in the mean time the King with a brave army had taken *Leicester* town, and struck a great terror into all the parts adjacent. But all this was useful only to bring on a greater misfortune, for General *Fairefax* drew his army that way, and the opposing of his passage brought on that fatal battail of *Naseby*, where there was so absolute a defeat of his Majesties forces, as the after strivings were but as labouring for breath, by a person not long before his decease. After this *Oxford* was besieged again, and yielded by treaty, which was followed by a total dissolution of all his Majesties military power. Yet the King assayed to engage a powerful army for him, which was that

70 *Passages relating to*

of the *Scots* at *Newark*, and that he might the more endear himself to these, he put his Royal person wholly into their power. At first the *Scots* carried themselves, as if they intended to appear worthy of so great confidence, for they presently marched *Northwards*. The Parliament gave no time to consider, but made a peremptory demand, to have the King's person delivered to them, and had the help of *Themistocles* his two great gods *Vis & Snada*, the terror of a victorious army ready to fall upon them in case of refusal, and by way of perswasion a representation of their duty, that army being then in the Parliaments pay, and obliged to act only in their service, to which with many other reasons, was added a promise of their arrears by very ready payment. The first of these
was

the Long Parliament. 71

was more likely to give offence, than terror, to so powerful a body, and as to that pretended duty of the army, it could not extend it self to the extinguishing of natural allegiance, which is a duty personal. But whatsoever arguments were used, the *scots* consented to deliver him, and performed it to their eternal infamy, which infamy is much encreased by a breach of trust (for having received his Majesty they ought to have set him in a state of freedom, as good as he had when he came) and because the contracting for mony makes the business appear, as a sale of their Sovereign Prince. Soon after the King's forces were wholly dispersed, the army being without imployment made business for it self, by interposing in publick matters appertaining to the Government, which was be-

72 *Passages relating to*

gun by a mutinous accusation of Mr. *Hollis*, with other members to the number of eleven, and a drawing up of the army *Southwards*, whereupon the Parliament sent Commissioners to them to expostulate about their remove *Southwards*, and to promise all reasonable satisfaction in general terms, but nothing would serve, without the exclusion of those Members from the House of Commons. But I should have related, how upon delivery of the King's person, the Parliament placed him at *Holdenby*-house, with a guard of Soldiers, and a Comitty of Lords and Commons to attend him, and to order matters there for his security. At this the army seemed to take offence, disliking the choice of Commanders for his guard, but surely their main intention was (since now an opposition

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the Long Parliament. 73

tion to the Parliament was designed) to have the Royal person only in the power of the army, and thereupon they sent a party to take him from *Holdenby*, which was effected without the least opposition, and so they held his Majesty with (or near) the army, till being at *Hampton Court* the chief Officers grew jealous, that his residence with the Soldiery might have an influence, endangering the power of them the Commanders. At this time *Cromwel* who was the chief manager of affairs in the army, carried himself with such respect to his Majesty, as his party grew highly jealous of him, insomuch, as *John Lilborn*, the great Leveller, offered a kind of accusation against him at the bar in the House of Commons, wherunto there was little ear given by the house in general, but

74 *Passages relating to*

but those, who abhorred all reconciliation with his Majesty, remained unsatisfied, and began to complain bitterly of him one to another, as a person perfidious ; but their fear was causeless, for he never intended to be an instrument of so much good to the nation, and therefore his courtship must be thought to have had some other intention, which may be guessed at by that which followeth. While the army lay about *Hampton Court*, the Houses were informed, that the King had made an escape from thence, and that the chief Commanders were very much distracted with the thought of it. This was very well dissembled, since it soon appeared, that the King had been perswaded to withdraw himself, and was never fully out of power, for being quickly seized upon again,

the Long Parliament. 75

gain, they placed him (according to their hearts desire) in the Isle of *Wight*, where there could be no addressee made to him, but by their permission. Yet here the army was content the Parliament should have the honour, that his Majesties seemed to be in their custody, for the guard and care of him was referred to a person nominated (or at least approved of) by them, who was Colonel *Hammond*. And now the *English* Nation (though all too late) was grown so generally sensible of their Prince his distressed estate, as it drew on a treaty at *Caris-brook* Castle in the Isle of *Wight*, where the King had his forced residence, called the personal treaty, because none were admitted to be present at the debate, but the King his self, and the Commissioners of Parliament. It is

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is true, that the King might retire at any time into another room to advise with Divines and others, being persons of his own choice, but they were not admitted to be present with him for assistance in the debate. There were terms of very great disadvantage, yet the King carried himself even to admiration of the Commissioners. I remember, that it hapned after the report had been made in the House of Commons, as we passed through *Westminster-hall*, that one of us was speaking of his Majesties great abilities in the hearing of one of our Grandees, who turning his face to him who spake, used these words : perceive, you take notice of the King's great abilities, and you may thence conclude with your self, that you have the more cause to take heed of him, which speech I could

the Long Parliament. 77

could not but find very strange, as if it were dangerous to a Nation to be governed by a Prince of parts extraordinary. But this treaty had the like issue with others, though the unsatisfactoriness of the King's concessions could not be voted in the House, as it was then constituted, which caused a new purgation of it by the army. Before this personal treaty, the Parliament for a long time was enforced to take for payment, whatsoever reasons the army Officers were pleased to tender for their justification, but in the year 1647. the army was grown to that insolence, as the Presbiterian party in Parliament thought it unsufferable, and thereupon they took heart, and having made some resolute votes, sent a Committy of both Houses to the City of *London*, to ingage them in an opposition to the

78 *Passages relating to*

the army together with the Parliament, but there was then as great a Schisme (or rent) in the City, as in the Parliament, and the Borough of *Southwork* siding wholly with the army, it was impossible for the City to stand out against it, so as that ill grounded opposition fell wholly to ground, and the Speakers of both Houses (who easily foresaw the issue, and together with many other Members had made an escape to the army) returned triumphantly to *Westminster*, and the army with much greater triumph marched in body quite through *London*, and by means of this opposition became more eminently powerful than ever. And thus the great City of *London* was made to stoop, and it may be observed in this business (taking it wholly from the beginning to its happy
conclu-

the Long Parliament. 79

conclusion) that all other persons and parties, which had been much cryed up for eminent power, were brought low, as the great favorites in Church and State, the *Scottish* armies, the Houses of Parliament, and the Royal Sovereign his self, whom it pleased God to humble even unto violent death, as it was with his (and our) Blessed Saviour. And as for this triumphant army, with its brave and politick Commanders, Divine Providence reserved it and them, to an utter dissolution, (as to that great power wherewith they so afflicted the world) which came upon them at last, though with leaden feet. And to shew unto those insolent Commanders of the army the unstableness of their condition, it pleased God before this personal treaty, that there was a strong design laid, to draw

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draw on a total change of affairs, by insurrections in divers Counties, and a fresh coming in of the *Scots*, who now began to understand themselves better. Yet as is usual in matters, wherein several and distant parties undertake together, these could not hold time one with another, so as some were overthrown, before others appeared to stir. But as preparatory to these troubles, the Parliament by a just judgment of God (as a return for their own miscarriage in the same kind) was much disquieted with tumultuating Petitioners from *Surrey*, *Kent*, and other Counties, who carried themselves with such violence, as some of the Petitioners lost their lives by the guard which attended in the new Palace-yard, & the loss of these persons was so ill resented abroad, as *Kent* suddenly arose in a great body

body for the King, and had *Essex* held time with them, it might have somewhat distracted the army, but *Essex* men stayd, till the *Kentish* strength was broken at *Maidstone*, and then began to stir, whereupon the remainder of *Kentish* men crossed the *Thames*, and came into *Essex*, where not being able to resist a complete army, the whole party of both Counties was constrained to retire into *Colchester* town, and was there besieged by General *Fairesfax*, and enforced to surrender for want of provisions. About the same time, the Earl of *Holland* made a party, and took arms on the other side of *London*, but finding no assistance from the Countrey, he retired *Northwards*, after some damage received, and being pursued by forces sent by the army,

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his

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his party was routed at *St. Neots* in *Huntington* shire, and he his self there taken prisoner. Neither had the *Scots* under Duke *Hamilton* any better success, for *Cromwel* having gathered together a competent force, fell upon them in their quarters, when they had scarcely heard of him, and he cannot be said to have routed them, for they were never suffered to gather themselves into a body, so as all that great army fell to nothing, without making the least opposition in any considerable number, and in the pursuit the Duke their General was also taken prisoner. Now the army having once more cleared the coast, had good leisure to fall into mutiny again, but it was against the Parliament, and not against their Officers, who made use of the common Sol-

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Soldiers, to demand Justice (as they called it) against the King, and for whatsoever else they the Officers had in their desires; and for this they found out a new and unheard of way, giving the Soldiers leave to chuse agitators, being substitutes, receiving denomination from agitating their businesses, which then consisted only in meddling with affairs concerning the publick. These persons were busie-headed fellows, pointed out by the Officers, but elected by the Soldiery, and held their assemblies, wherein they questioned all parts of the Government, and proposed what new models they thought fit. This made the people in general almost mad, fearing that all would fall into absolute confusion, but the army Officers meant no such

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thing,

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thing, as parting at this time with their old Masters, who had not yet done all their work, and who would be governed, as they knew by experience, which perhaps a new and more numerous representative body would not have endured, and therefore they resolved only upon the seclusion of all those Members, whom they had found to be principled opposite to their interest; and so having had good trial upon our great debate concerning the perlonal Treaty, and time to make a Catalogue of such persons names, as they intended to seclude, during one days adjournment made by the House after having spent a whole night in that debate, they sent their Red-coats early in the morning before the next sitting, who passed the Streets with

the Long Parliament. 85

with great cries, and so possess themselves of the House of Commons-door, admitting only those Members, whose names they found not in their Catalogue, and seizing upon many of the rest who would have entred. I question not, but upon this occasion (as upon all others of great importance) they held a solemn fast among the chief Commanders, to ask counsel of God, for the doing of that which they their selves had already resolved upon, which (if I deceive not my self) is one of the greatest hypocrisies that the world hath known. The House of Commons being thus moulded according to their desire, they presently fell upon the formalities of that most hideous (and not to be paralell'd) murder of our Royal Sovereign,

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and

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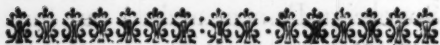
and upon the business of putting down the House of Lords, with intention to establish a perfect Democracy among us. But God hath preserved us from so unhappy a change: As for my self, being one of the secluded Members, I from that time retired me wholly from publick affairs, till a farther call, which by Gods mercy I lived to see, and had the happiness to be a Member even of that House of Commons, when all was disposed there for a perfect restitution of the ancient Government under our most gracious Sovereign *Charles* the Second, whom God preserve long in prosperity for his service, and for the happiness of these Nations. And here I end this Discourse, leaving it to better pens, to set forth the continuance of that Anarchy,
and

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and the miraculous way of Divine providence, in Restoring us to our Sovereign Prince, and to our fundamental Laws, without effusion of one drop of blood in the Military way.

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A SHORT
ADDITAMENT.

SINCE the finishing of this Discourse, I have consulted the Histories of several Nations, to see, if I could meet with any thing running paralel to the raising and issue of this War; but I have absolutely failed of doing it. It hath been usual for Senates to take part with a power already raised by persons assuming the Sovereignty; so it was with the *Roman* Senate, when *Galba* had prevailed against *Nero*; and that Senate went farther than

the Long Parliament. 89

than any other within my reading, for they proceeded to a capital sentence against their Prince, but it was not till the Imperial dignity was in a manner possessed by *Galba*, and the Military power was so far from being raised, or directed by themselves, as they durst not give the least countenance to it, till *Nero* was absolutely run down. That which cometh nearer to us, is a levying of War by the *Roman* Senate against *Julius Maximinus* the Emperor; but at the same time they invested *Pupienus* and *Albinus* with the Imperial purple in opposition to him, and claimed no Sovereignty in themselves; which setting up of Emperor against Emperor was a thing very frequent among the *Romans*. In these later times, there have been divers Rebellions against Princes, wherein Senates have been
concur-

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concurring, but have not originally formed the opposition. So in the United Provinces of *Belgia*, Arms were first raised by particular persons, or places; and the States (or Deputies of Provinces) afterwards approved, and concurred: And the Parliament of *Paris* adjoyned it self to the *Liguers* (or *Covenanters*) against the two last *Henries* of *France*; but that Parliaments actions are little to our purpose; for they are to be looked upon as no more than a standing Court of Judicature, wherein the Peers of *France* are priviledged to sit at pleasure, and having jurisdiction only in some part of the *French* Dominion; (except in cases of appeal) and besides this, the War was neither begun, nor managed under their Authority. In *Scotland*, an Assembly stiled Ecclesiastical, (though comprizing

the Long Parliament. 91

comprizing Lay-persons) was Con-
voked by King *Charles* the First,
and they continued their Session af-
ter his Majesties Act for their disso-
lution, assuming to themselves a
power independent upon him ; but
I never read, that they made any
Order for raising of Military For-
ces for maintenance of their De-
crees, though it was otherwise
done against his Majesty. In our
Chronicles, there is mention of di-
vers Kings deposed, even by Par-
liament, but those Parliaments did
it in compliance with a strength al-
ready in being ; and they no ways
either directed or concurred in rai-
sing that power. Thus have I ra-
ked together out of several Histo-
ries much filth, but none of so bad
favour, as that contracted by our
Long Parliament. There are some
particulars of aggravation against
that

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that Assembly, (I mean chiefly the House of Commons, who for the most spurred the Lords into action as to things irregularly done) which are not applicable to any of those in foreign Histories : As first, that they levied War against their Prince in their own name. Secondly, that they were Assembled by the King's Writ to advise him in his affairs, and therefore ought not to have acted against him. Thirdly, that they were limited by the terms of that Writ, and in that respect ought not to have exceeded those limits. Fourthly, that they were representatives of the Commons, and (though they would be otherwise exorbitant) ought not to have done things prejudicial to them, and contrary to the mind of their Major part, as certainly they did

the Long Parliament. 93

did, in levying of War, and in those things which ensued thereupon. And lastly, they assumed a Jurisdiction upon the Kings Royal person, without the least colour of right, by making Substitutes (stiled by them a High Court of Justice) to Arraign him as a Delinquent, and to proceed capitally against him, even to death it self; whereas he alone was the Fountain of all Justice within his Dominions; and nothing of that nature could regularly be done against the meanest person; but by vertue of Authority, or Commission from him. And all this when he was still acknowledged to be their King; for he was so stiled *In Terminis* at the Arraignment. This is far beyond what hath been formerly done by
any

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any other body of men; and is of so odious a condition, as pity it is, there cannot be a total obliteration of it, to prevent any transmission to posterity. It hath been hinted herein, that the levying of War against the King was displeasing to the people in general; yet partly by terror, and partly by hope of advantage, the most powerful part of the Nation was made instrumental in it; and this may the better be believed, because many of the most important businesses transacted in that Parliament were (upon a weaker consideration) carried on, contrary to the judgment of the Major part of that House of Commons. (I intend the sense of the House, as it was constituted at first; for to speak of it otherwise were like making

the Long Parliament. 95

making a Coat for the Moon, which is never of the same dimensions, but either encreasing or decreasing.) This seemeth a paradox, yet thus much I can say by experience, for the truth of it, that oftentimes very many Members, of those who sat near me in the House, gave their voice the same way that I did upon putting the question; and yet upon division of the House, they were ashamed to own it; for then they associated themselves with our great managers of business in the way of opposition to his then Majesty. Of so great force is the desire of popularity with too many, which could not but have a very great influence upon matters of greatest consequence, that were usually determined without any great disparity

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rity in the Votes. Yet were not businesses always carried on in the House, according to the mind, and intended Order of the leading persons ; for the business of that Protestation made in the year 1641 had been taken into consideration at a private meeting of the Grandees, and was there concluded to be unseasonable. Yet *Henry Martin* being unsatisfied with their determination, moved it the next day in Parliament, and found the House so disposed, as a Vote was presently passed for a Protestation, which was afterwards worded by a select Com-mitty, and approved of in both Houses. And to this the Leaders would not oppose themselves, though they conceived it to be improper at that time. Having
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herein insinuated the different constitutions and inclinations of that House of Commons, I may demonstrate it by particular resolutions, in the case of this *Henry Martin*, who as well by that of the Protestation, as by some other successes in the seditious way, being exalted in mind, adventured to cast himself upon a Rock; and thus it was: When it had been some ways expressed in the House, that the good and happiness of this Nation depended upon his Majesties safety, and continuance of the Royal Line, *Henry Martin* stood up and affirmed it to be a mistake; for (as he conceived) this Nation might be very happy, though the Royal Line were extinct. Upon these words he was presently questioned, and after some debate, Voted out of the
H House,

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House, and he continued long under that exclusion: But the War being begun, and carried on, it was conceived, that *Henry Martin* might do good service, as a Member, and so his restitution was moved for, but answer was soon made, that he was a person dead civilly, and could not be restored to life. Hereupon young *Sir Henry Vane* (one of the Oracles of those times) arose and said, That the matter was very easie to be effected, by expunging out of the Journal-book that Order, whereby he had been cast out; and that the House was ever understood to be Mistress of her own Orders. This was found so ready a way, as the matter was presently determined, and *Henry Martin* having notice, came into the House again, disposed to do farther mischief. And that the
House

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House was otherwise disposed, before the Members, who fully embraced the Royal interest had forsaken the Parliament, may appear by the difficult saving of Sir *Henry Ludlow*, who thus exposed himself to danger. The House had newly received a message from his Majesty, which was so far from being satisfactory, as many persons spake against it with much vehemency, and among the rest Sir *Henry Ludlow*, who very resolutely used these terms: He who sent this Message is not worthy to be King of *England*; Upon saying this, he was immediately interrupted, and the words were agreed upon preparatory to a Charge; but before his withdrawing, in order to a Censure, Mr. *Pym* arose, and said, That those words contained nothing of dishonor to the King, which

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being

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being found very strange, he thus cleared his meaning. If these words be such as a fair conclusion is naturally deducible from them, then they cannot be evil in themselves, but that a fair conclusion naturally ariseth from them, may be proved by this Syllogism. He who sent this Message is not worthy to be King of *England*, but King *Charles* is worthy to be King of *England*; And therefore King *Charles* sent not this Message. Now (saith Mr. *Pym*) I leave it to judgment, whether or no this Syllogism comprize anything in it worthy of your Censure. This argument was so ingenious, as Sir *Henry Ludlow* (with his ill meaning) came freely off without punishment; whereas those Members, who were of the Royal party, found no such effectual intercessions, but were ejected many

the Long Parliament. 101

many in a day, and the House was replenished again with Soldiers and other persons (most of them) of a Tribunicial spirit and temper ; so as no wonder it is, that a Body so fallen from its Primitive Constitution, having contracted so much evil habit, and prostituted it self to the embraces of an insolent and rebellious Army, governed by Commanders highly ambitious, should yield births of so horrid and prodigious a nature, which (as we hope) shall never be paralelled in any future Age. And now, it is more than time, to conclude also this Supplemental Discourse, which is become greater than I my self at first intended.

Spicas aliquot legi, messē validioribus linquo.

F I N I S.